

Message Text

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

USMISSION GENEVA

USLOSACLANT

USDOCOSOUTH

USCINCEUR

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 6065

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO

SUBJ: OCTOBER 29 PERMREPS LUNCH: ALLIANCE DISCUSSION ON DETENTE

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT OCTOBER 29 PERMREP LUNCH, SEVERAL AMBASSADORS SPOKE IN FAVOR OF EXPANDED SPC CONSIDERATION OF DETENTE TO LAY GROUNDWORK FOR DETAILED AND LIVELY DISCUSSION ON THIS ISSUE IN THE COUNCIL AND AT THE DECEMBER MINISTERIAL. END SUMMARY.

1. PECK (UK) NOTED THAT THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE (SPC), WHILE MAKING GOOD PROGRESS IN ITS CONSIDERATION OF CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE, WAS MAKING LESS PROGRESS IN ITS DISCUSSIONS ON DETENTE. PECK SUGGESTED THAT SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL SEEMED TO BE OPERATING ON CONFIDENTIAL

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THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE COUNCIL HAD AUTHORIZED THE SPC ONLY TO IDENTIFY PRINCIPAL DETENTE THEMES. PECK, ON THE OTHER HAND, BELIEVED THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD GIVE THE SPC A BROADER MANDATE TO DELVE INTO SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS BEFORE PRESENTING THEIR VIEWS TO

THE COUNCIL FOR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION AND PRESENTATION TO THE MINISTERS.

2. CATALANO (ITALY) BELIEVED THAT THE SPC WAS ON THE RIGHT COURSE IN ATTEMPTING TO IDENTIFY FOR SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL SOME FIVE OR SIX PRINCIPAL THEMES FROM SECRETARY KISSINGER'S SEPTEMBER 19 SFRC REMARKS.

3. HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) DISAGREED AND OBSERVED THAT AT THE SPC'S INITIAL DISCUSSION ON DETENTE ONLY THE DUTCH AND BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVES HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO ADDRESS SUBSTANTIVE MATTERS. A "THIN" REPORT FROM THE SPC WOULD ONLY RESULT IN AN ANEMIC DISCUSSION IN THE NAC AND VERY LIKELY AN UNSATISFACTORY EXCHANGE AMONG FOREIGN MINISTERS IN DECEMBER.

4. DE ROSE (FRANCE) BELIEVED IT IMPORTANT THAT THE SPC LOOK AT THE THREE OR FOUR MAJOR EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDERWAY AND THAT IT ATTEMPT ALSO TO EXAMINE THE PSYCHOLOGY UNDERLYING THE SECRETARY'S SCHOLARLY AND BRILLIANT PRESENTATION ON DETENTE. SUCH AN EXAMINATION BY THE SPC WAS NECESSARY TO ALLOW FOREIGN MINISTERS SUFFICIENT ROOM FOR A USEFUL EXCHANGE ON DETENTE IN DECEMBER.

5. KRAPF (FRG) REMARKED THAT THE SECRETARY'S INTERESTING SFRC PRESENTATION PROVIDED A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR NATO WORK. ADDITIONAL ALLIED VIEWS SHOULD BE SUPERIMPOSED, HOWEVER, SINCE THERE MAY BE SOME DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS AMONG THE ALLIES AS TO THE NATURE AND EVENTUAL OUTCOME OF THE DETENTE PROCESS. KRAPF RECALLED THAT, DURING THE OCTOBER 29 COUNCIL DISCUSSION OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, DE ROSE HAD MADE THE POINT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND THE USSR AS SUPERPOWERS HAVE SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT VIEWS ON DETENTE THAN THE SMALLER POWERS.

6. DESTAERCKE (BELGIM) AGREED THAT THE SECRETARY'S SFRC REMARKS PROVIDE A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR ALLIANCE DEBATE IN THAT IT PROVIDED NOT ONLY AN OVERALL VISION OF THE DETENTE PROCESS BUT PRESENTED AN AGENDA FOR THE FUTURE. HE BELIEVED THAT THE SPC
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AND THE COUNCIL SHOULD PREPARE FIRST AN SPC CHAIRMAN'S REPORT AND EVENTUALLY A MEMORANDUM FROM THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE PURPOSE OF THESE WOULD BE TO RAISE THE LEVEL OF DEBATE AMONG THE FOREIGN MINISTERS.

7. SVART (DENMARK) AGREED WITH DESTAERCKE AND SUGGESTED THAT THE SPC INITIALLY ATTEMPT TO DEFINE DETENTE FROM A CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL POINT OF VIEW BUT THAT IT ALSO DISCUSS SUBSTANTIVE DETAILS SINCE THERE ARE CERTAIN AREAS OF DIFFERENCE AMONG THE ALLIES. HARTOGH AND MENZIES (CANADA) AGREED WITH SVART AND URGED THAT THE SPC BE ALLOWED MORE ROOM FOR SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES.

8. ACTING SYG PANSA, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, AID HE FAVORED A WIDER RANGING, "MORE PROPHETIC" PAPER FROM THE SPC. THERE SHOULD, FOR EXAMPLE, BE CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION ON THE JURIDICAL AND LONGER-RANGE POLITICAL EFFECTS STEMMING FROM THE CSCE. THE ALLIES SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS ON THE UNSETTLED MIDDLE EAST SITUATION OF AN EARLY AND SUCCESSFUL CSCE CONCLUSION. PANSA SAID THAT THIS WAS ANOTHER FORM OF "LINKAGE" WHERE DETENTE MAY PREVAIL IN ONE GEOGRAPHIC AREA BUT MAY NOT IN ANOTHER. IN THIS CONTEXT, PANSA AND DE ROSE NOTED THAT FRANCE, ALTHOUGH A SUPPORTER OF DETENTE, HAD CHOSEN NOT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.

9. CHARGE (MCAULIFFE) SUGGESTED THAT A MERE CATALOGUE OF DETENTE ISSUES AND A SERIES OF QUESTIONS MIGHT NOT NECESSARILY PROVIDE THE FRAMEWORK FOR A USEFUL DISCUSSION AMONG MINISTERS IN DECEMBER. HE BELIEVED THAT THE SENIOR POLADS SHOULD GO INTO THIS ISSUE IN SOME DEPTH, AND SHOULD PRECISELY INDICATE NOT ONLY AREAS OF AGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES ON DETENTE, BUT ALSO AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT SO THAT FOREIGN MINISTERS COULD ADDRESS THEM AND SEEK TO REDUCE WHATEVER AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT THAT EXISTED. HE OBSERVED THAT DISAGREEMENTS MIGHT BE DUE TO MISTAKEN PERCEPTIONS OF THE FACTS OR OF THE POLICIES OF INDIVIDUAL GOVERNMENTS AND THAT MISPERCEPTIONS MIGHT BE RESOLVED IN THE COURSE OF FRANK MINISTERIAL DISCUSSIONS.

10. RECALLING PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU'S OCTOBER 24 STATEMENT IN THE COUNCIL, MENZIES SAID THE SPC SHOULD NOT OVERLOOK WHAT DETENTE MENAS TO THE SOVIETS AND TO ALLIED PUBLICS. HE SUGGESTED THAT EVENTUALLY LUNS SHOULD SEND A MEMORANDUM TO THE MINISTERS WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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THEY CANNOT SIMPLY NOTE AND IGNORE.

11. KRAPF AGREED WITH MENZIES BUT ON THE BASIS THAT NEITHER THE SPC NOR THE COUNCIL WOULD LAY DOWN RESTRICTIVE GUIDELINES FOR THE MINISTERS' DISCUSSIONS IN DECEMBER.

12. DESTAERCKE OBSERVED THAT THE CSCE WOULD SOONER OR LATER LEGITIMIZE THE RESULTS OF WORLD WAR II AND THAT ITS FINAL AGREEMENTS, EVEN THOUGH NOT IN TREATY FORM, WOULD HAVE A PROFOUND EFFECT ON THE LAWS, POLITICAL SYSTEMS AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH FUTURE GENERATIONS LIVE.

13. GREEK PERMREP (THEODOROPOULOS) SAID THE SENIOR POLADS SHOULD ALSO ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY ELEMENTS WHICH COULD ESTABLIZE RO TOTALLY ARREST THE DETENTE PROCESS, AND HE CITED INFLATION AND SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AS POSSIBLE EXAMPLES.

14. DESTAERCKE AGREED AND SUGGESTED THAT THE SENIOR POLADS SHOULD ALSO LOOK AT INTERNAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS SINCE THESE HAVE ALSO BEEN AFFECTED BY DETENTE. THE SPC SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INDICATE WHAT EFFECT SUCH DEVELOPMENTS MAY HAVE ON THE FUTURE OF THE ALLIANCE AND THE ABILITY OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBER NATIONS TO

MAINTAIN THE ADEQUATE DEFENSE WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO EFFECTIVE EAST/WEST NEGOTIATIONS.

15. IN SUMMING UP, PECK ASKED PANSAL TO INSTRUCT KASTL TO ALLOW A GOOD AND THOROUGHGOING DISCUSSION IN THE SPC. DE ROSE ADDED THAT CURRENT PROBLEMS ARE UNLIKE ANY THE ALLIES HAVE PREVIOUSLY CONFRONTED SINCE IN THE MULTINATIONAL EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS CURRENTLY UNDERWAY TWO VERY DIFFERENT POLITICAL,ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, EACH WITH VERY REAL DIFFERENCES OF VIEW, ARE IN CONTENTION AND COMPETITION WITH EACH OTHER. MCAULIFFE

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